

PEACE NEWS

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Minister Revives a Myth

IN opposing food-relief in the House of Lords last week (see report, back page) Lord Selborne, Minister of Economic Warfare, sought to discredit relief proposals by resurrecting a ghost which is more dangerous than substantial.

"During the last war there was a vast organization under the auspices of Mr. Hoover," he said, "administering great quantities of relief in Belgium. General Ludendorff, in a book published after the last war, stated that relief had been of considerable benefit to Germany." Later he claimed: "We had General Ludendorff boasting, at the end of the war, that that was of benefit to Germany."

He nowhere cited Ludendorff's words. The Food Relief Campaign of the Peace Pledge Union now reveals that it was in correspondence with Lord Selborne over a reference in his speech to the Lords of Mar. 18, 1943, in which he said that "the Germans had taken very good care to take out the equivalent amount of food from Belgium."

The Minister then agreed, in a letter from his Private Secretary, dated Aug. 10, 1943, that the only passage in Ludendorff's "Memoirs" which bore on Belgian relief was the single sentence on page 354: "The measures taken by the Entente relieved us of anxiety as to the feeding of Belgium."

He further agreed that this passage "does not bear the construction which from memory he then put upon it."

It was made clear to Lord Selborne that there was no intention of publishing his error "unless the Ministry continues to use this point in defending its policy on food relief."

★

As he has now reiterated the charge—"that the Germans would avail themselves of the amount of food going into a country in order to manipulate the basic ration in such a way that the benefit of the imported food redounded to them rather than to the peoples of the conquered countries"—

—by claiming that "this is actually what happened in Belgium in the last war," the RPU Food Relief Campaign points out that even if Ludendorff is assumed for this purpose to be a reliable witness (and Lord Selborne would certainly not make such an assumption in respect of other passages in the "Memoirs"), it should be noted that he does not claim that the Hoover scheme "relieved us of the" necessity "of feeding Belgium," which would be a more relevant point.

POST - BAG SAMPLE

I HAVE been looking through recent letters in answer to my appeals for the Headquarters Fund.

One comes from a man aged 84 who is nearly blind . . . another comes from a woman, also aged 84, who is one of our staunchest supporters . . . another sent 10s. on Leap Year's Day—"the only day I am allowed to live rent free" . . . another reports a "bring and buy" sale by his group which realized over £26 . . . More than one contributor hopes that we shall produce an active post-war programme.

May others be encouraged by these enthusiasts to give us further help.

Contributions to date amount to £13 15s. 6d. Please send your donations, marked "Headquarters Fund," to me at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

MAURICE L. ROWNTREE
Treasurer

RUSSIA'S FREE HAND IN EUROPE

— and Second Front suspicions

PIECEMEAL peace is poor peace, wrote Gerald Hopkins. But even that, though plentiful in the headlines, is reluctant to materialize.

It should come quickest to Rumania, for the Russians have crossed the Dniester. The Finns have made "a tragic mistake in rejecting the generous terms offered by Russia" (New Statesman, Mar. 18). Yet The Times (Mar. 16) reports that these same terms have aroused "vehement opposition on all sides in Finland."

Are the terms so very generous? Or unconditional surrender under a sweeter name? Anyway, the root of the trouble is not the practical difficulty of interning the German Army in Finland, but that the Finns do not trust Russia.

Some solidarity!

RUSSIA'S giving full diplomatic recognition to the Badoglio Government in Italy makes nonsense

of the professions of unity at Moscow and Teheran. Cordell Hull says outright that the USA was not consulted; and obviously Britain was not.

According to the Observer (Mar. 19) Vyshinsky was "dissatisfied with the work of the Mediterranean Commission," and also took a particular dislike to Signor Croce, who is now blacklisted as "an enemy of Russia." He was sounded by Badoglio, responded favourably, and hey presto! the trick was done.

Gloze it over as they may, the action of Russia is a direct slap in the face to the British and American Governments, and at the same time to all the British and American Leftists who attacked their governments for treating with Badoglio at all. Once again, "the farce is over." The Left journals have something to swallow. Says the New Statesman (Mar. 18):

"If unilateral action by Russia (or the Allies) becomes the rule, the solidarity which was achieved at Teheran will quickly wear thin."

Solidarity—my foot!

Russia's line

FROM the Russian side the picture is fairly coherent. Before Moscow and Teheran, when it appeared doubtful whether there would ever be a meeting between Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, the Russian press played one consistent tune. All that mattered was the Second Front in the West: yes, or no. When the Moscow meeting was announced, the Russian press emphasized that nothing beyond the Second Front was on the agenda.

Russia's subsequent behaviour has been in full accord with that attitude. Put baldly it is that, until the Second Front does materialize, Russia has a free hand politically. No Second Front, no solidarity. The Russians have made that pretty clear throughout. They have simply pursued their own policy towards Finland, Poland, the Baltic States, Jugo-Slavia, Rumania—to which they have offered Transylvania—and now Italy, and left it to Mr. Churchill to explain. He will. He will explain why any enemy can have apparently reasonable terms from Russia, except Britain's ally—Poland.

Second Front

THE situation needs examining. First, there are obstinate suspicions about the Second Front. At the end of February Reuter cabled from Moscow that there is "a widespread belief among Russians that the Second Front has been postponed." The Daily Mail (Mar. 15) reports from New York that "an unfortunate rumour that Britain has proposed a delay in its opening to give further trial to bombing won't die down." Last week I chronicled that it was "an open secret" in Washington that Churchill was strongly opposed to the Second Front, but had been overborne by Roosevelt and Stalin. The News

Review (Mar. 16) says definitely that the Second Front has opened. The intensified air attack on Germany "was not the preliminary to the Second Front. It was the real thing."

So much for that. Suspicions are suspicions. But force is given to this one by a startling statement in Time (Feb. 28):

"The Russians were gratified at the collapse of Italy, but Joseph Stalin wanted a Second Front in Western Europe. He vetoed Churchill's evident desire for a Balkan invasion." Time's information is pretty reliable. That, if true, explains a lot.

Cross-purposes in Balkans

APPARENTLY The Observer (Mar. 19) knows something about that story. It laments:

"One cannot help considering how different things would look had we carried our Mediterranean strategy into the Balkans as at one time last year it was taken for granted we would do. With the prodigious local help at our disposal, we might now have been in full occupation of Jugoslavia, on the western borders of Rumania and the southern borders of Hungary. The evident anxiety of Germany's satellites to quit the war would have had a chance of fulfilment. We would have been there before the retreating Germans."

And — before the advancing Russians.

Why did Britain refrain from the attempt, which must have been congenial to Churchill? Time's explanation fits nicely.

Politics v. Strategy

A RUSSIAN veto on a Balkan invasion would only be a revival of the traditional Russian objection to British military operations in the Balkans. Churchill had first hand experience of it in the last war (see "World Crisis"). This time, with a friendly Turkey, Italy collapsed, and Jugo-Slavia in revolt, he had a chance of a much greater coup than the one he tried in the Dardanelles. Then Britain had to agree that Russia "should have Constantinople." This

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Fate of the Atlantic Charter

M.P.s' NEW MOVE

NOT all the seventy MPs who backed Mr. Rhys Davies's "Atlantic Charter" motion have withdrawn their support, as some press reports have suggested.

We understand that Mr. Rhys Davies and a group of his supporters were meeting on Wednesday to discuss what steps should be taken in view of Mr. Churchill's refusal, last week, to allow time for the motion to be debated unless it was intended to be a Vote of Censure.

Several pacifists were among the supporters of the motion, which read:

"That this House, bearing in mind the specific promises contained in the Atlantic Charter, regrets recent statements made on behalf of HM Government conveying the impression that its provisions do not, as a matter of right, apply to Germany or any other enemy country; believes that these statements have brought the Charter into disrepute; depressed the spirit of considerable sections of the Allied populations; stiffened the support of the peoples of enemy countries behind their leaders; are calculated thereby to prolong the war; make the prospects of permanent peace difficult if not impossible; and therefore, urges HM Government to make it clear that the principles laid down in the Charter are of world-wide application."

BY - ELECTION ISSUE ?

Another step towards making a political issue out of the Government's betrayal of the Atlantic Charter has been taken by Captain the Hon. William Douglas-Home (son of the Earl of Home), who stated in a letter in Peace News last week that he was considering the necessity of resigning his Army commission "in view of the fact that I cannot honestly order my fellow-men to battle in a war without a moral purpose."

Capt. Douglas-Home has applied to the Army Council for permission to stand in the Clay Cross by-election (caused by the death of the Labour Member, Mr. George Ridley) as "Atlantic Charter candidate."



While the politicians on both sides indulge their rhetoric, while military leaders plan campaigns that will lay waste more and more of Europe, the common people retain their age-old privilege of suffering the consequences. This photograph of an Italian peasant, and his child, wounded in an air raid, has captured the reality of the anguish behind the rhetoric, of the shattered bodies which the strategy leaves in its wake—and the value which Western civilization in 1944 places on its children.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

PACIFISM IN TRAVAIL

WHAT is happening to pacifism?

Four years and a half of war, and the end not in sight. A goodly slice of a man's experience. During all that time the young pacifist has been incessantly beset by questions which involve the deepest moral and religious issues. There has not been a simple form of pacifist action, such as existed, in 1914-18, in the refusal of conscription and the acceptance of imprisonment for the duration. That solved the question: What shall I do? It took the answer out of the pacifist's hands.

The pacifist of this war has had to find the answer for himself. Moreover, a real change in consciousness had taken place between the wars. The radical philosophies of Marx and Freud had influenced all sensitive intelligences, bringing a new awareness of economic motivation and conditioning, of the mechanisms of rationalization, of the transitory nature of bourgeois ideology. The first fine raptures of the No Conscription Fellowship could not be recaptured by pacifists who did not believe in the validity of the old individualism; who saw the objector of the last war become the Home Secretary of this; who recognized that the Kaiser's militarism was one thing and Hitler's Nazism another: who knew that the pacifism which was almost popular between 1931 and 1939 was primarily a mass-movement to prevent, or avoid, or escape war. "If war comes, we shall have failed," said Dick Sheppard.

That profound dubiety, that sense that a simple negative to war has untenable in the mass-society, and inadequate as an answer to Hitlerism, has had its consequences. They are evident in the Friends' Ambulance Unit Chronicle. The editorial of February asks:

"Is the Unit altering? I think it is. Three years ago the articles sent in were mostly about income-sharing, unit government, or the importance of community. . . . Today eyebrows go up at an article on the spiritual significance of pacifism. . . . What people want is news. Not all people perhaps—another letter from the Middle East asks 'Where are the articles, packed with challenge, which we used to get when S.M. was editor?'"

"Where is S.M.? In the Indian Army. S.V., another heavy-weight, is in the Army. W.E., another Editor, is on the land. So is B.P. It is curious how many of those who were most concerned about the spiritual future of the FAU have left it now, either for the ploughshare or the sword."

The person who reads that as a confession of failure from the FAU has no idea of what is happening to pacifists today. The FAU is, in this regard, typical of the pacifist movement at its best. The hunger for pacifist action that is not illusory has been overwhelming. Under the stress of that need the FAU has lost many of its most conscious and concerned members, to the Army, to the Land. They realized, what the faithful members of the FAU have come to realize: that "The Unit is only a bit of society, a special organ for a special job." The Army on the one side, the Land on the other, seemed to them less illusory, more candid.

What this signifies would need an essay, not a column, to investigate. But it suggests insistent questions to us. Does the PPU, in its present form, truly reflect this travail of soul among pacifists of military age? Does it answer their problems, and respond to their imperatives? Has it become, or been conscious of the need of becoming, an organization—shall we not say a society?—which can satisfy their needs? The needs are two: to believe, and to act accordingly. Faith and works. Is the PPU rich in both?

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement or PPU connection with the matter advertised.

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How I shall provide a series of

NEW (and forgetful) READERS BEGIN HERE

John Scanlon's island cannot be named, for security reasons, but it is real enough for him to live on. "It stands in much the same relationship to Kintyre as Britain does to Europe," he wrote in Peace News on Feb. 4, when he devised some "Very Foreign Affairs" for its inhabitants—who, poor folk, up to that date had no Foreign Policy. Now read on.

SEVERAL readers have kindly shown a desire for further information on how to provide a green and pleasant isle with a policy calculated to give a series of "finest hours."

May I say in reply that I have not allowed the grass to grow under my feet. I acquired a hearth-rug and did some hard reading and thinking.

I was extremely anxious to get my island to mould its style on Japan, because Japan is an island Power and they are quick workers. I had, therefore, to find and assimilate a standard work on Japan. It was important for me to know how an island which formerly measured her wealth on a rice standard had suddenly found herself with a Yen looking the Dollar in the face. All through the dark days of 1931 the currencies of the two countries looked each other in the face, and the admirals of the two countries also began to look each other in the face.

I could have studied America as a model. For that great nation, knowing it had no real excuse for a fleet, had cut the Panama Canal, thus making its country an island and, in time, getting the largest fleet in the world. However, I found that was no use, for if I had made a Panama Canal, I would have been left with a canal and no island. I stuck to Japan.

THE work I chose was "Japan" by M. Nitobe. I was a little disappointed because the author assured me, in effect, that from the outset of her march to a steady Yen, Japan had moulded her style entirely on Britain.

Let me say at once that M. Nitobe nowhere admits that Japan copied Britain. As M. Nitobe points out, Britain was an island Power, and he quotes the happy aphorism of an enemy in Europe sitting with a pistol

"Finest Hours" for my island

by

John Scanlon

cocked at her heart. Japan, being in the East, had her enemies sitting with a dagger aimed at her back. Japan's enemies were Korea and China.

I was not sure at first that China could be likened to a back-stabber, but in looking up the more erudite journals I find M. Nitobe is right. I think I am right in saying that no journal so represents the national conception of foreign politics as does Punch, and I find one brilliant cartoon in which Mr. Palmerston is standing with a whip, rolling up his sleeves. He is being advised by Mr. Punch to give a good whipping to a figure slinking in the foreground, knife in hand. The figure is China.

But apart from the fact that I had a choice of two slogans—pistol aimed at my heart, and a knife at my back—I might just as well have started to read British history. I had set out to find a short cut to island greatness—via Japan. And all I really learned is that she had found her way to greatness in the end—via Britain. It is like finding a short cut to Calais from Dover by going via Dakar—always disappointing.

In the circumstances there was nothing else for it but to go back to the history which I learned at my school teacher's knee, and sometimes across it.

IT was worth it (I mean, going back). I have found what I wanted—the path to greatness and "finest hours"—the destiny of Island Powers. For what do I find? Japan gets a new religion, a new brewery, a loan and a bank, all in the space of two years. England at one stroke gets a loan, a new religion, a new foreign policy and enough gold to keep any God-fearing nation on the gold standard almost indefinitely.

I find, too, that before hiring himself out as an advertisement for underclothing, Cardinal Wolsey was the greatest exponent of what a foreign policy should be, Mr. Eden excepted of course.

This, however, is a matter I must take up with our one schoolmistress,

for I find that Scottish history books do not give Wolsey the attention he deserves. And I want my bank clerks to be as belligerent as English bank clerks. I want them also to be equally understanding as to why they are belligerent. The secret is Wolsey. For if I follow Wolsey religiously, they will have no choice but to become belligerent.

In my hand I have what is called "The Groundwork of British History." The preface tells me:

"If in reading it a boy comes to carry with him some idea of the origin and sequence and relation of events, and gains some notion of history as a whole, he is beginning to build on what may be called a groundwork."

I find that my groundwork teaches me that before Wolsey things were rather dull. Like my island, England had no foreign policy. We had slapped at the French, and they had slapped back, but nothing much to speak of. There were the two periods—before, and after, the Reformation. And now I quote my "groundwork":

"Yet, though in most respects the first period was fruitless, it was notable for one thing. It contained Wolsey; and Wolsey was the first statesman to raise England to a great place in European politics. . . . By intervening in these European politics which had their centre in Italy, England placed itself on a level with France, Spain, and the Empire; by the skill which Wolsey showed in setting off one nation against the other, England for a time seemed to be arbiter in Europe."

I HAVE always felt that playing off one nation against another was the only way of life for the leading Christian nation. For as our historian says "this was the seed time." And the harvest came in finest hours, albeit with a goodly proportion of malnutrition thrown in.

But to think that Scottish boys have been denied all this groundwork given to English boys is enough to make me believe England has a pistol cocked at the heart of my island. My next step as a Christian ruler is to play off Scotland and Wales against her. And what a harvest of finest hours, even if I am only half as successful as Wolsey . . .

War with France, 1512 and 1522. With Scotland, 1522-42-47; France, 1549 and 1557; Scotland, 1577; France, 1562; Spain, 1588; Spain, 1624; France, 1627; Holland, 1651; Spain, 1655; France, 1666; Denmark, 1666; Holland, 1666; Algiers, 1669; Holland, 1672; France, 1689; and so on . . . Wars without end. Amen.

For finest hours give me Wolsey rather than the Japs.

LETTERS

Unity of the Sexes

THE essential problem of the discussion "Man, Woman and War" would seem to be one of man and woman as a functional unit in society. Man and woman are not like the tree and the earth; they are not two separate entities with completely different characteristics, but two separate organisms destined to function in unison. In my opinion, it is exactly because this functional unity of the sexes has never yet become a reality, owing to biological frustration and social suppression, stretching over a much longer period of time than most people care to imagine, that civilization is so much endangered.

It is not so much the question: Who is at fault, man or woman; neither is it important or relevant whether woman is the "spiritual fountain of the world" or man "the spiritual instigator"; as it is the question when and how will men and women find the way which leads to a fuller life. This in turn is intimately connected with people's understanding of objective historical processes of which they are only a part.

AIRGRAPH

from Australia

WE have been receiving your paper regularly and think that it is a very fine journal. When we read the news from England it does make us realize that we are not an isolated unit, but just a part of the great company of people who have as their ultimate goal the betterment of mankind. . . .

In the future please address all correspondence to "The Secretary" rather than to any one by name, as owing to call-ups, etc., our officers change rather rapidly.

WALTER KILLBRICK

Hon. Sec., Australian PPU.
Lansbury Centre,
333 Georges St., Sydney, N.S.W.

When discussing this problem of the "division of the sexes" as I should like to call it (and every contribution so far has treated it in single fashion, or as dual phenomena at best) one is apt to forget the impact of the social struggle based on economic development. Though I do not wish to overemphasize the economic aspect, I am convinced that no higher form of development, individual and social, is feasible, unless the total structure of society is changed. Only when the children, the men and women of tomorrow, are allowed to develop under favourable conditions, which will give them a wholly new grasp of the significance of all life-forms, will the functional unity of the sexes, as the highest possible form of social life, become a reality, and discussion on who is better and who worse become superfluous—not to say ridiculous.

ERIKA BLATCHFORD

14, Beacon Hill, London, N.7.

Electoral Reform

I hope that the boost for proportional representation contained in the notes by A.G.S. won't mislead members of the PPU into taking sides in the current controversy about electoral reform. While it seems to me that the single transferable vote method is perhaps the best for electing a PPU National Council, it would merely make the confusion of national politics worse confused.

It doesn't make a scrap of difference which party or parties are represented in the House of Commons or what government is elected, but if we are to have parliamentary government at all the two-party system is the most effective way of working it. As a recent leader in the New English Weekly, says: "It may be something of the nature of a general political truth to say that a democratic State whose citizens cannot habitually make do with two parties will sooner or later have to put up with only one." And there is no doubt that the proportional technique does encourage the rise of numerous factions of opinion.

CONAN NICHOLAS

Nationalism

"Language, ways of life, conventions, reticences, and shape of the countryside"—these constitute, writes "Observer" (PN, Feb. 11) "the character and personality of a nation." Language has no necessary alignment with nationalism, as French-German-Italian-speaking Swiss, or Austrians and Germans, or American and English can testify, while in most lands there are more shapes than one to the countryside. Ways of life, conventions and reticences are personal or class, as may be seen by the diverse reaction to radio "artists." It is time pacifists challenged this personalizing of nations, which is philosophically indefensible and disastrous in results; if German babies (e.g.) are really "German," one must presume they are at war and are being "legitimately" burnt to death.

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JOHN NIBB

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TRAVELLING FOR PEACE

TOWARDS the end of last August I began a journey that has already taken me to most parts of England and Scotland and North Wales; in six months I have visited over 100 groups (including many agricultural communities), and spoken at several public meetings. My work has been divided into three parts, each of the same compelling urgency:

1. To impress on pacifists the need of an informed and imaginative public opinion—focused in Peace News and a pacifist press, owned and supported by themselves;
2. To make known the fact that the PPU Bookshop is at their disposal—not only to supply pacifist literature, but to meet all demands, including the purchase and exchange of Book Tokens;
3. To initiate discussions on group lines and to keep in close touch with those members who cannot take part in normal group activities.

Peace News is the organ of the PPU and sometimes a bone of contention—my efforts

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This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

have been to persuade a critical and individualistic membership to feel itself bound to support the only means by which our message can be delivered—a pacifist journal and press. There are men and women who every week sell over 8 dozen copies on the streets and from door to door. Our debt to their untiring and devoted service is beyond measure; but our future progress and ultimate success depend upon new members.

It is, therefore, with the long-term policy of education that I have been vitally concerned: the business of getting books into the hands of as many people as possible. Ideas and knowledge are more important just now when both are becoming less accessible as supplies of paper are rationed and controlled. Already books which have become classics for many pacifists are out of print. Books by Dick Sheppard, Max Plowman, Eric Gill, George Lansbury, and John Middleton Murry are in this category—books which contain the best expression of our faith and which conjure up the warmth of living personalities.

In travelling from group to group, I am trying to persuade inveterate novel readers to turn their attention to biographies, to found libraries. But time is against us in this—the cry "Out of print" is increasingly heard.

One section of the movement it has been my special task to contact during these tours—the isolated, rather lonely men working on the land. At one time many of them were key members of town groups—they and their wives look back and look forward but can seldom see much in the present. Peace News and occasional visits from the centre keep alive the tradition and the faith. They hope—and in the meantime are slowly helping a sometimes hostile and generally unsympathetic neighbourhood to be aware of the shape of things to come.

Those of us who spend most of our lives travelling are conscious how deep is the longing for peace everywhere, and yet how deeply involved we are in war. Only by setting up and maintaining these small groups of freedom-loving pacifists—strong in their own integrity and aware of the unending nature of their task—can peace be established—as one day it will.

JOHN BARCLAY

A Small Farmer's Lament

Another contribution to the discussion on PACIFISTS AND THE LAND

I WAS interested to read in your editorial, "Pacifists and the Land," that "pacifism and agriculture stand in a peculiarly intimate relationship with each other." The context seems to suggest that it is not so much large-scale mechanized farming on industrial lines with which pacifism has an affinity but small-scale individual farming.

At the present time such small farmers, of whom I am one, are perhaps coming closer to prosperity than has been the case at any time in the recent past, but advertisements in PN's classified columns for a very small amount of finance for the purchase of additional livestock have brought me no relevant reply or even inquiry.

This suggests to me that while PN readers may sometimes regard small-scale farming as an ideal way of life and a pleasantly romantic dream they are shrewd enough in their practical affairs to understand that small-scale farming may soon succumb to the tide of mechanization and industrialization. Statistically this appears to be true enough.

WHAT FIGURES SHOW

As to mechanization, the last ten years has seen the number of tractors in use in Britain more than doubled. As to the number of separate holdings, Whitaker's Almanack for 1920 gives the number of farms in England and Wales as 417,000 but for 1939 only 362,000—a decrease of 55,000 holdings. The trend, moreover, is continuous. It existed before 1920 and since 1939 the decrease in the number of holdings has, I believe, been more rapid.

In England and Wales today the size of the average holding is about 40 acres of which at the very most one half for 20 acres could be ploughed, but an American firm near Chicago offers an 108 horsepower diesel-engined ploughing outfit that in favourable conditions will plough 20 acres in 3 hours, will double-disc harrow 20 acres in 1½ hours, will sow 20 acres in 1 hour and will reap and thresh 20 acres with combine harvesters in 1½ hours. In practice there are large-scale American agricultural concerns which expect one man and his mate to plough, sow and reap 1,000 acres of land,

Words of Peace-65

A New Beginning

*From the murmur and subtlety of suspicion with which we vex one another,
Give us rest.
Make a new beginning, and mingle again the kindred of the nations in the alchemy of love,
And with some finer essence of forbearance,
Temper our mind.*

—Aristophanes. (Written during the Peloponnesian War, 400 B.C.)

while the record is held by one man and his assistant who did over 6,000 acres.

In these circumstances, with powerful and wealthy industrialists viewing agriculture as the next field of economy to enjoy the benefits of complete industrialization, mechanization, and rationalization, is it not as well for the small farmer to realize that he is "on the way out," that his horse team is obsolescent and will soon become obsolete? And should not PN tell the small farmer in its editorial columns what the practical decision of PN readers has told me—that the small farmer need expect no help whatever. In any case, he expects none from the industrialists of the political Right or the collectivists of the political Left.

It appears clear to me that the production of food, like the production of electricity, will soon become the sole domain of large, highly capitalized, and fully mechanized undertakings either State-owned or privately owned. From the viewpoint of the small-scale farmer, however, I think there is in the relationship between pacifists and the small farmer at least one consoling thought: when, after a few more years of desperate struggle, the tide of mechanization finally sweeps the small farmer away, neither the industrialists nor the collectivists will mourn his passing—only the pacifists will be truly sorry to see him go and he will have felt the consolation of their genuine sympathy (even if nothing else) to the last.

TENANT FARMER.

FACE-TO-FACE

During the rapid advance of the Eighth Army from Taranto occurred an incident thus described in The Times (Mar. 4).

"A British officer proceeding in a jeep rashly and fast along a road turned a corner and found himself gazing almost up the spout of a German tank's gun."

"Seeing a track to the right he swerved up it, but it was horseshoe in shape and as quickly landed him back on the road in rear of the tank. On this a head surmounted by coal-scuttle helmet emerged from the turret and shouted in perfect English: 'Make up your mind! Which side are you on?'"

"The Englishman, having by now lost his composure, said he wasn't sure."

"The German shouted back: 'Then for God's sake clear out!' and disappeared again within the bowels of his tank."

C.O.'s FOURTH FIREGUARD PROSECUTION IN NINE MONTHS

FOR the fourth time in nine months, Leonard A. Bird, a well-known PPU worker in Huddersfield, was prosecuted at Huddersfield police court on Mar. 13 for refusing to carry out fire-watching duties when directed to do so by the local authority.

The case was adjourned for a week to enable him to obtain evidence to prove a legal point that he had raised.

WRONG "ALTERNATIVE"

On Feb. 1 Peter L. Cudbird, a Surbiton Friend, was fined £20 at Kingston (Surrey) police court for not complying with his registration conditions, and, on refusing to pay, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment as an alternative.

On referring to a table contained in the Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879, the Records Clerk of the Central Board for C.O.s discovered that this was one month in excess of the legal maximum. An application to the Home Office was therefore made for the balance of the sentence to be remitted, and Peter Cudbird has now been released after serving as for two months.

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Hackney: Terence Delaney no longer secretary.

Bow: now Harry Myster (individual adviser) at same address.

Blackheath no longer covers Lee (S.E.12). Lewisham (now covering S.E.12): now Bill Hodson, 27 Micheldever Rd., Lee, S.E.12.

All available space for DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS in NEXT ISSUE is already booked.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY
TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.
Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.
When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

ACCOUNTANT who has to spend one week in about every three months in the Colwyn Bay district would like to arrange for bed and breakfast with vegetarian family anywhere within half an hour's bus ride. R. Frind Roberts, 70 Beechwood Rd., Sanderstead, Surrey.

URGENTLY REQUIRED. Two or more rooms for sleeping only, in safe area; within reasonable travelling distance of North London. Replies to W. E. Gumbey, 110 West Heath Rd., Hampstead, London, N.W.3.

C.O. WISHES BUY second 3-4 berth caravan. Cooking optional. Preferably near: S. Bennett, Kenmore, Bath Rd., Taplow, Bucks.

ELY OR CAMBRIDGE: Teacher, wife and baby need house to rent or buy. Grateful for suggestions. O'Hare, 9 Meadows, Lancaster.

YOUNG COUPLE seek accommodation, furn. or unfurn., Middx., Bucks., etc., within reach Hayes, Middx.; wife offers assistance, husband will coach maths. Box 368.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts, A. and E. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44).

WYE VALLEY (and Forest of Dean). Guest house in own parkland 150 acres. Very tranquil. Mild district. Delightful walking centre. From £3. "Lindors," St. Briavels, Gloucester.

ANGLESEY. You will be welcome at Brynhyfryd if seeking a truly peaceful holiday. Spacious and comfortable accommodation. A wonderful outlook on sea and mountain scenery from the house and grounds. Secretary, Brynhyfryd, Beaumaris, Llangefni 57.

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

SHERWOOD SCHOOL, Epsom (9125), a co-educational community aiming at independence, initiative, and friendliness. School and Higher School Certs.; boarding and day (excellent centre for Wimbledon, Sutton, Kingston, Leatherhead, etc.).

FOR SALE AND WANTED

LAMB BRAND typewriter ribbons. Cleanest, clearest, longest. 8s. 6d. each, postage paid; 10s. three; 18s. 6d. six. Name models, colours, Peace News. Hardman and Sons, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

PIANO ACCORDIONS for sale, exchanged, wanted; list. (Dept. 4) Accordion Repairs, 9a High St., Barnstable, Devon.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex.

OUR 1944 Seed Catalogue now ready. Write for your copy. Rule, Southampton.

ALLYSON—After 5,000 years a way has been found to remove from garlic its intolerable smell. Get to know Allyson healing liquid, tablets, and sweet-smelling garlic ointment. Send for booklets about garlic. Please refer to advert in this issue.

GROW QUALITY rasp, strawberry, cherry rhubarb, sweet williams, giant margaret, primrose wanda, chrysanthemums. All good croppers. 6s. doz. assorted. Carriage free C.W.O. 50 selected plants £1. Cowling, Whinney Bank Nurseries, Wooddale, Yorks.

PACIFIST WANTING six-string guitar. Has anybody one for sale? Hibberd, 45 Raverley St., Bow, E.3.

LITERATURE, etc.

GIFT FOR C.O.s in prison. "How Green Was My Valley." Relatives write. Marshall, 21 Wheatlands Drive, Bradford, Yorks.

BOOKS LOANED to C.O.s on land, etc., without obligation. Write for list Marshall as above.

NEW PAMPHLETS, with Poems.

No. 1 on Penal Reform, with intr. by Stuart Morris; No. 2 "Still Towards Democracy," with a foreword by the Duke of Bedford, by Alan Hadfield, M.A. Cantab. Post free 1s. 7d. each. Northern Lights Press, 16 Park Pde., Harrogate.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

MEETINGS, etc.

QUAKERS AND FAMILY LIFE: Public lunch-hour address, Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1, by H. Helen Harris, Mar. 28, at 1.20 p.m.

THE NORTHAMPTON BREAKFAST: Sun., Apr. 2, 8.30, Friends' Meeting House, Irene Barclay on "Housing and Town-planning. What can a pacifist do?"

BOURNEMOUTH. Post-war Reconstruction Group, 5 Wellington Rd. Mar. 31, 7.30 p.m., "Russia." L. Perno. French class each Wednesday at 6.30.

WALTHAMSTOW REGION A.G.M. Sat., Apr. 1, Friends' Hall, Greenleaf Road, E.17. Chairman, E. C. Redhead. Business 8.5 p.m. Tea—bring your own food. 6 p.m., "Work of War Resisters' International," H. Runham Brown (Hon. Sec.). Pictorial History of P.P.U. on show.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE: P.P.U. Summer School, Aug. 19-27. Watch Peace News for further particulars.

PECKHAM P.P.U. Meetings every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m., at Lansbury House, 41 Camberwell Grove, S.E.5 (3 mins. Camberwell Green). Mar. 28, Frederick Lohr.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY. Leyton and Chingford Branches. Social and dance, Saturday, Apr. 1, at Co-op Hall, Hoe St., Walthamstow, 7.30-10.30 p.m. Light refreshments. Crosswaite Bros. band. Admission 2s.

HARRY OLINSKY ON "The Christian Faith"; 8 Endsleigh Gdns., Sat., Mar. 25, at 3.30. Discussion conducted by Frederick Lohr.

MAURICE ROWNTREE on "Philosophy of Pacifism." Friends Meeting House, Eden St., Kingston, Thurs., Mar. 30, 7.45 p.m. P.P.U.

MEETING OF C.O. hospital workers Mar. 28, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1, 6.30 p.m. Chairman, Fennor Brockway; Walter Padley on "Trade Unions"; and speaker on "Nationalization of Hospitals." Arranged by Pacifist Service Bureau.

PERSONAL

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends. Stamp.

DIVIDEND FROM Will Coppin's Share Number in London Co-operative Society will be used for the funds of the Co-operative Armistice Council. Minimum subscription 2s. 6d. per annum. All communications to C.A.C., 130 Balfour Rd., Ilford, Essex.

SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants who are in any doubt are recommended to consult the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

MEDICAL Assistant required with view to partnership. Apply Dr. Harold Thomas, St. Clare, Merthyr Tydfil.

PEDIGREE ATTESTED Jersey herd requires man or capable girl for T.T. milk production. Modern methods; recorder-releaser plant. Keen learner considered. Newman Turner, Sutton-Mallet, Bridgewater, Somerset.

TEACHER REQUIRED next term at Coventry and also address below: general elementary subjects; good salary; nice post. Coventry Preparatory School, Bryn Aber Hall, Llanrhaidr, Oswestry, Salop.

PRINCIPAL well-established preparatory school (15 miles London) considering re-organization and post-war opening of affiliated pre-Alpine School in Switzerland, invites applications for following posts: man for food production and help indoors; wife as cook; matron; maid; educated persons for teaching posts. Write fully and confidentially. Principal, Brookhouse School, Turnford, Bournemouth.

WANTED friends or family to share complete kitchen and dining-room work for 100 children. Progressive boarding-school. Small cottage available. Box 364.

REQUIRED FOR portrait studio: Printer, operator, assistants to learn business, also lady for reception duties, experience not essential. Schofields, 184 Smithdown Rd., Liverpool, 15.

WORKING COOK-HOUSEKEEPER wanted at once for very comfortable house in lovely village on bus route. Good plain cooking. References. State wages. Mrs. Roberts, The Old Manor, Leighton Buzzard.

ROUNDSMAN for wholesale food distribution. Able to drive an advantage. Central London. Box 365.

HOME, salary, offered to housekeeper by widow (working) with 3 children (2 at school). Help with rough. Vegetarians. 67 Lytton Ave., Letchworth, Herts.

WANTED URGENTLY domestic help. Hurtwood School, Peaslake, Guildford, Abinger 119.

YORKS AREA COUNCIL is unable to appoint an organizer at present and thanks all applicants.

C.O. EMPLOYER requires man to go with threshing set. Good pay and better prospects. No skill required. East Midlands. Box 366.

WANTED, MAY 1: three people to help in small school for difficult children, as cook, housemaid, and matron. Apply Oakley, Crowborough, Sussex.

COMPANION-HELP for farmer's daughter (30). No milking. Refined home. Urgent. Richards, Valast Hill, Farnborough.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED AUTHOR, accurate typist, with experience of historical and scientific work, would undertake copying and arranging of MSS, so as to continue literary work for which exempted. Box 344.

DUPLICATING—100 copies, quarto, 4s. 6d., postage extra. Also expert typing. Winifred Jewell, Typewriting office, 8 Lammas Park Gdns., Ealing. Phone Ealing 1645.

PACIFIST COUPLE with young baby seek situation. Land work and part-time housekeeping or assisting with children. Community considered. Full details please. Box 370.

KEEN, ADAPTABLE C.O. seeks permanent position market garden or small-holding. Experienced market gardening, farming, tractors, lorry. Box 367.

TRAINED HORTICULTURIST C.O. desires take charge or assist nursery-market garden. Capable, married, accommodation required. Home Counties preferred. Box 369.

MISCELLANEOUS

GROUP MEDITATION (London), Yoga and Heard-Huxley theories. Active proponents, write Bragg, Merville, 105 Tulse Hill, S.W.2.

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8985.

NATURE-CURE TREATMENT of disease (including eyes). Reginald J. Bailey, M.S.F., N.C.P., Osteopath and Naturopath, 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21. (Ex-Maidstone C.O.) Consultations by appointment. Postal advice given. Palmers Green 7868.

"FIFTH FREEDOM" WANTED

WHEN Prof. N. Gangulee, eminent Indian philosopher and nutrition expert, referred at a London rally against all forms of racial discrimination on Saturday, to Lin Yutang's advocacy of a "fifth freedom"—the freedom from humbug—the remark was greeted by cheers and applause from the audience.

The rally was organized by the London Area of the P.P.U.

Prof. Gangulee told the audience: "The first step is to have our independence and freedom. If you don't give us this you will lose your freedom too."

Jeffrey Campbell, an American negro and a pacifist, urged the audience not to be so respectable. He spoke of an American youth conference which met in a hotel where the management refused to allow in the negro delegates. "They threw a picket, 500 strong, round the hotel, and in half an hour all the delegates were sitting down to a communal meal," said Mr. Campbell.

A Jewish speaker referred to the oneness of humanity clearly laid down in Jewish religious writing and analysed the position of the Jew as a scapegoat throughout the ages.

A West African, Chris Jones, said the remedy for discrimination rested with the workers of this country, not with Whitehall. "It can be obliterated tomorrow," he said, "if the workers say so."

Reginald Sorensen, MP, pointed out that there was no biological difference between negro and white man, Jew and Gentile. "We have our pygmies the same as other races," he added.

Basil Rodgers, a negro baritone, sang a group of negro spirituals and Mrs. Bhattacharyya sang two songs by Rabindranath Tagore.

The meeting closed with the singing of the Indian National Anthem. Sybil Morrison was in the chair.

* * *

The London Area is organising a big May Day meeting at the Conway Hall, on Mon., May 1, at 7 p.m., to be preceded by a Hyde Park demonstration on Sun., Apr. 30, at 3 p.m.

THE CONDITION OF "MUTUAL TRUST"

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

time a stronger Russia just said "No!" On this basis, these are our speculations.

Assuming that Churchill had to give way, what would be his attitude to the Second Front, as demanded by the Russians? One of extreme reluctance, surely. Between a Second Front, as a strategic desideratum, and a Second Front just where the Russians demand it—there is a mighty difference, politically. The Churchill Second Front would have created a political counterpoise to Russian influence in Europe; the Stalin Second Front would greatly increase Russian predominance.

Dread in the West

WHAT does a Second Front in Western Europe really mean? It means, first, the devastation of countries friendly to ourselves: France or Belgium, or Holland or Denmark. It means therefore not an increase of British prestige in Western Europe, but a diminution of it. The press tells fairy tales about the peoples eagerly awaiting liberation; but Western Europe dreads the Stalin Second Front.

Furthermore, besides decreasing British political influence, it must give Russia a still freer hand in Eastern Europe. At the present moment, the Poles must be asking themselves what on earth they stand to gain for their country by participating in an invasion of Europe from the West?

Britain's Dilemma

BRITAIN has got herself into a very embarrassing situation. If the Second Front in Western Europe has been really decided, then the one hope is that the battle shall be short, sharp and decisive. Anything in the shape of a prolonged and stubborn campaign would be political and psychological disaster. The combination of colossal casualties with a growing awareness that we have lost the war politically would produce a grave political crisis here. (The moment when Britain lost the war politically was the moment when we failed to prevent Benes from making the treaty in Moscow. That was the beginning of a unilateral peace-settlement, made by Russia.)

Britain, judged by the standards of *realpolitik*—no others are recognized today—is now in a very weak position. The only way of strengthening it would be to achieve a genuine political agreement between Britain and Russia. That, we have always maintained, is impossible. In spite of the ballyhoo, mutual trust does

Food - Relief urged by Dr. Temple, Lord Horder, and former Blockade Minister

GOVERNMENT "NO" : BUT FUTURE CHANGES NOT RULED OUT

THE Government reply to the Lords debate on Food Relief on Mar. 15 was, frankly, disappointing. Despite the pleas for extended relief advanced by the Archbishop of Canterbury, supported by Lord Horder, Viscount Leverhulme, and even —although circumspectly—by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, the Earl of Selborne, Minister of Economic Warfare, made no concession, although he announced that Vitamin D had been taken off the contraband list—a fact which had been known privately for some time.

In raising the question the Archbishop told the Lords that the concern was very widespread.

"From all the countries from which we get evidence," he said, "the testimony is unanimous; first, that the goods supplied do reach the people for whom they are intended—they are not confiscated for the benefit of the Germans—and the supply to them under the German system is not reduced in any way to match."

The Archbishop asked that the House "should make the most generous response we can to the unanimous resolution of the Senate in the USA, asking the State Department there to work out in conjunction with this country, Sweden and Switzerland, a system for moving food supplies to

the people of Belgium, Norway, Poland, the Netherlands, Greece, and Yugoslavia."

Lord Horder added expert medical opinion to the plea for relief. "Prolonged undernourishment," he pointed out, "is a much more serious medical problem than famine because it leads to diseases of low resistance, chiefly tuberculosis."

He quoted "convincingly reliable information" to show that "in September of last year the basic daily ration in Belgium was about 1,260 calories." This, he explained, "was just over half of the minimum required for health, and was about half of the ration in Belgium during the war of 1914-18." Lord Horder stated, on the authority of Professor Heymans' Report, that "the estimates of the protein substances in the blood, which is regarded as a very good means of testing malnutrition at the moment, show a fall in a large number of cases investigated of from 20 to 50 per cent."

Viscount Leverhulme said he was one who had "already had occasion to interest myself in this question of food relief in enemy-occupied countries." Last June he had led a deputation to the Minister on this question from the Anglo-Belgian Union, of which he is President.

"It may not be possible," he said, "to apply the same kind of scheme to all enemy-occupied countries, but if you cannot do a good turn to all your friends is that a reason why you should not attempt to help some of them?"

Viscount Cecil, Minister of Blockade in the last war, thought "There is a danger of being too much affected by official objections to a step of this kind. The natural bias of the official mind is against the trying of any experiment, however important and however hopeful a result it may seem to promise. While he was unwilling to support relief if it would prolong the war, he added:

"Merely to say that possibly, conceivably, the adoption of anything which would diminish the sufferings of young children might help the Germans in their fight does not seem to me to be enough. . . . The evil is very certain indeed; let us be quite sure that the danger of the remedy is equally certain before we turn it down altogether."

GOVERNMENT REPLY

Lord Selborne, replying for the Government, demurred at the plea for special treatment for Belgium, while admitting that "the urban population there is greater than in most other parts of Europe." In addition to the well-known "official" blockade arguments he made a special attack on the "minimal" proposals advanced:

"I think it is very important that people should realize that the quantity of food must be considerable if it is to do any good. . . . some of the proposals put forth by the protagonists of relief will not bear mathematical examination. Some of those protagonists in one breath say that the people of such-and-such a country are not getting more than half the number of calories that they require, and

in the next breath they say that it is only a question of sending 2,000 tons of foodstuffs a month or something of that sort. If you are going to make any impression on the most necessitous cases in Europe very large amounts of food will be involved as well as great organization."

"In the case of Greece," said Lord Selborne, "it has been necessary to erect most elaborate machinery." The Archbishop had challenged him as to whether the Germans had broken their undertakings with regard to Greece. "I must ask him not to press me on that point, but I will say this, that our experience in Greece has not been such as to encourage us to think that a system of control of that kind would be easy to administer in other parts of occupied Europe."

While making no specific concession, the Minister did not altogether rule out further modifications of policy. "Any other suggestions that can be made," he said, "we will always examine with care and sympathy."

"A CHILD OF OUR TIME"

THE first performance, given at the Adelphi Theatre last Sunday, of Michael Tippett's oratorio "A Child of Our Time" conducted by Walter Goehr with the London Philharmonic Orchestra, choirs of London Civil Defence and Morley College, and four distinguished soloists (Joan Cross, Margaret McArthur, Peter Pears, Roderick Lloyd) was a notable event.

The composer is author of his own text based on an actual incident—the shooting of a Nazi diplomat by a Jewish boy and its dire consequences. Michael Tippett has evolved from the grim narrative the symbolic Child of our Time—the boy is Father to the Man, at odds with his Shadow (his inner Self) "enmeshed in the drama of his personal fate and the elemental social forces of our day."

Although contemporary in idiom the music is not modern in any ultra sense. Its clear tonality, bold melodic shape, and striking rhythmic pulse, make an instant and direct appeal. Integral to the work are five Negro Spirituals sung at fitting points of climax in the dramatic narrative. The effect is profoundly moving.

The oratorio, as a whole, created a deep impression. Being the work of a pacifist composer whose sympathies and association with the sufferings of persecuted minorities is well known, the composition is a significant epitome of our times. The conductor's sure grasp of the magnitude of the work, and complete mastery of the difficulties involved, secured an effective response from all concerned in the performance.

C.E.M.

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KASTHURABAI GANDHI

An appreciation by MURIEL LESTER

Kasthurabai Gandhi, the wife of the Indian leader, died on Feb. 22.

NATURALLY, Mrs. Gandhi was little known in the West. She didn't talk English. She never visited Europe. She wasn't a maker of speeches or framer of pronouncements. She was, however, a forceful personality.

In the Sabarmati Ashram she spent hours in the kitchen among the pots and pans, preparing and cooking delicious meals for the household and for all of us guests. If some commodity ran short she would quickly invent a brilliant substitute—even for coffee on one occasion. She wouldn't let any slackness develop in washing-up. Each of us had to take our big brass plate and small bowl to the well, then pick up sand from the ground and polish them till they reflected like glass. If we didn't reach the requisite standard the matter would be publicly referred to at the next gathering.

Frankness, truth-telling without fear, without exaggeration, and without a shred of censoriousness was part of the daily training in non-violence. On tour or during a Civil

Disobedience demonstration, Mrs. Gandhi was the public-spirited, self-forgetting, fearless *satyagrahi* par excellence.

We often tried to persuade her to visit England. We enjoyed our imagined picture of her facing an audience at a public meeting here, answering questions and perhaps asking a question or two herself, her sturdy commonsense and unwearying devotion convicting her hearers of their ignorance and lack of imagination.

I saw her last in '39 when the Civil Disobedience Campaign was starting in Rajkot, her own native State. She wanted to go there at once and offer herself. Gandhi dissuaded her. She had been suffering from fainting fits, and he thought the question at issue could be settled without throwing everything into the struggle. But it dragged on and soon she was among the ever growing number of prisoners.

As for Gandhi's regard for her and reliance on her, it would be impossible and presumptuous to try to describe it. It is something so deep-rooted, so fundamental.

Letters of condolence or airgraphs may be sent to him: c/o the Home Member, Government of Bombay, Bombay.

The address of their youngest son Devadas, who was one of his secretaries during the Round Table Conference is: The Hindustan Times, Delhi, India.